1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

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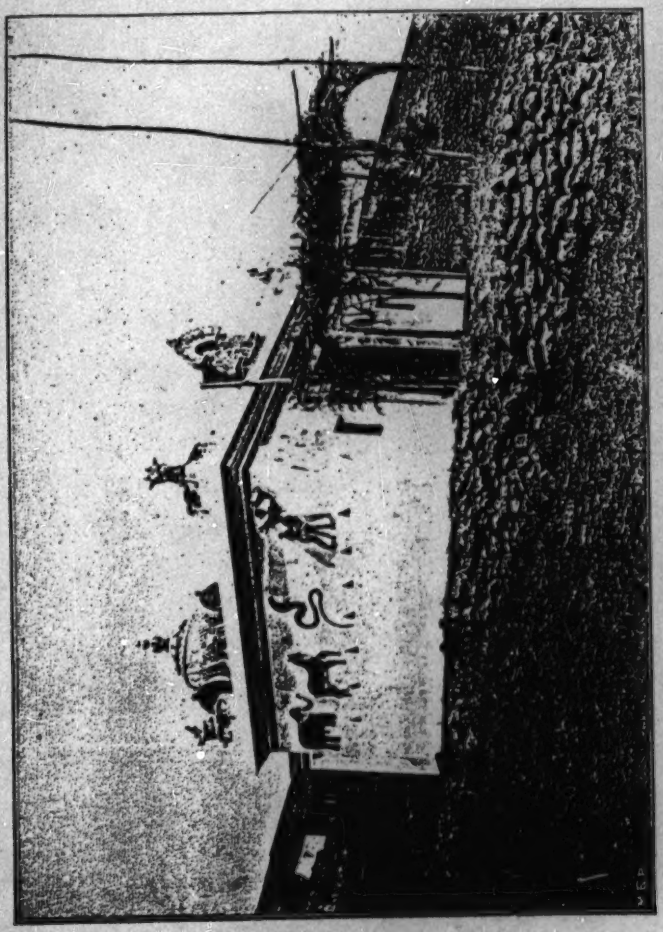

BADAGA TEMPLE.

[facing p. 95]

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

attendance coinciding with the conversion and the take-over of some government schools by the Basel Mission. Crops partially destroyed through drought; blamed by Badagas on a curse from the Christian preachers, and by the missionaries on Badaga idolatry.

1859 Continuing drought. By now, ten mission schools opened.

1863 Legislation to stop private parties clearing land to farm in reserved forests. Famine and some migration of Badagas away from their native villages; this was blamed on the missionaries, who were preaching that Christ was responsible for all that happens. The continuing conversions usually attributed by Badagas to sorcery; very low school attendance. Further government order prohibiting the annual fire-walking ceremony.

1864 A Badaga 'oracle' when questioned by villagers indicated the 'English god' was dangerous and evil-intentioned. Consecration of protestant chapel at Ne:rikambe.

1864-1884 Land Settlement; registration of all land holdings and the real end to swidden farming.

1865 Some headmen pulled down their temples and built new but bigger ones, for the first time in brick. Famine on the Nilgiris; drought blamed by Badagas on their gods losing power. A promise reportedly made by the god Irabattaraya to come to the plateau to cure the sick and destroy the missionaries; many disappointed that he did not come.

1873 A Badaga near Wellington became a deathbed convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

1875 Massacre of eighteen Kurumbas by Badagas armed with axes; this in retaliation for a fever among the Badagas.

1876 Monsoons failed; cholera epidemic among Badagas.

1877 Smallpox and cholera epidemics and dysentery on the Nilgiris and famine throughout South India; grain prices double the usual; heavy immigration of starving unemployed people from plains near the Nilgiris; among Badagas much loss of faith in the efficacy of Hindu rituals, and some conversions.

1880 By now 183 Badagas converted to Lutheranism since 1858, and the process continuing slowly; ostracism and physical fighting still associated with each conversion.

1882 Madras Forest Act: defined forest boundaries and further restricted the cutting of timber. Family of a Kurumba

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Virtuous People, the village of Eḍapalḷi became strongly Gandhian in the 1930s and today retains this idealism, has a well-balanced mixed farming economy and an optimistic outlook on the future—a combination of factors that is quite rare in Badaga villages. It was also the first village to send a Badaga to the United States for post-graduate training. Eḍapalḷi seems to have been a progressive community for some generations.

The Destruction of the Temples

Building and destroying temples were equated in Badaga thinking with establishing or destroying a religion. In one village, as we have seen, Badagas sympathetic to some aspects of Christianity built a temple to Jesus in which they placed the New Testament they had been given. In another village Metz knew some Badagas who were willing to pray with him but not openly to call themselves Christians. They even asked him to pull down their Hindu temple. Metz suggested it would be better if they showed their faith by doing this themselves. They refused but did remove the *pu:ja* offerings at the temple and kneel in front of it while the missionary prayed with them (Metz, 1864, 135–136).

In 1864 a Protestant chapel was consecrated in the Badaga village of Ne:rikambe, and in 1865 famine hit the Nilgiris. Some of the Badaga leaders felt this happened because their gods were not properly honoured, and during the next few months many villages went through the unprecedented steps of tearing down their temples and building new, bigger ones in their place. By this means the people hoped to regain the favour of the gods and counter the influence of the mission. It is noteworthy that brick, a European novelty which up until this time had rarely been used in Badaga building, was the material of these new temples; stone is the usual material even today. In one large village several temples were destroyed by the headman and four new ones built, two of them for gods not previously worshipped there.[12] The process of rebuilding temples continued for several decades and affected 'almost all the villages' (B.E.M.S., 1870, no. 31, 22–23; 1905, no. 66, 66).

Sanctions against Conversion

Social pressures were constantly being exerted on converts, their

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

16. *Kácí*, or in one dialect *kaci*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Maṇihaṭṭi priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Taṅga:ḍu priests remained in the outer precincts. The Taṅga:ḍu Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Taṅga:ḍu. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Maṇihaṭṭi had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Maṇihaṭṭi, Taṅga:ḍu and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

[p. 212 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

population, illegal hunting and poisoning of carnivors, and the great extension in the area of tea estates, predatory tigers and other large animals have become so rare on the plateau that there seems little need to propitiate Be:da Sa:mi.

Lingayats, over the past century at least, have taken up the worship of gods other than Shiva. The non-Lingayat Badagas have also adopted new gods, mostly Sanskritic deities related to Shiva, such as his sons Ganapati and Subramania, and also Aiyappan. A parochialization of the great Hindu tradition is evinced in the temple established at Tu:raṭṭi for a stone brought there from Benares, or the silver image of Subramania brought to a Ka:te:ri temple from Benares, or the 'footprint of Ra:ma' on a rock at Mañjakombe.

BAJAN AND KRISHNA WORSHIP

These styles of worship are new to the Badagas, who are Shaivites (Krishna and Ra:ma are Vaishnavite deities) (Karl, 1945, 5). The performance of *bajan* (group hymns) began amongst them some thirty years ago, and so popular has it become that nearly every village has one or more sets of *bajan* instruments and holds a weekly performance of the sacred songs. These are hymns mostly in praise of the Lord Krishna; they are played on the instruments of Tamilnad, not of the Nilgiris, and the words are Tamil, not Badagu. Many villages have built a *bajan* house specifically for these devotional evenings; it is owned by the village in common and is considered a kind of temple. Inside are lithographic prints of Krishna and other gods and perhaps an image to which *pu:ja* is performed during the course of the devotions. Once a year donations are solicited from every household in the village for support of the *bajan* singing group. Not every villager is interested in this form of worship, but its popularity is clearly increasing, especially among the youths who regard it as a modern, urban form of worship. The rising interest in *bajan* has been noted elsewhere in South India (Singer, 1959, 148–149).

TAMILIAN AND KANARESE CELEBRATIONS

Heavy immigration to the hills, together with greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east, especially

433 (648) employing Kasuvas and exploiting the grazing potentials offered by tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore Ditch.

234 778 (776) (782) (346) The Bergani dairy-temple center. A sacred buffalo herd is maintained at the Bergani dairy-temple center honoring the goddess Masthi Methai. At the center there is a building with an inner dairy-temple, priest's quarters, and rooms to shelter buffalo calves (Plate III, A). Several buffalo-pens stand close by. Down slope there is another building where pilgrims may sleep. Inside it is a sacred

778 (782) (793) (788) room where an employed Chetti annually weaves new clothing for the goddess's image and the attendant priest. Food for hundreds of pilgrims who attend an annual festival is cooked in a nearby shed with aligned fireplaces.

234 778 (431) (648) Features inside the dairy-temple are identically related to the arrangement of features within Badaga row temples described in a later chapter. The dairy-temple center and a herd of over 70 buffaloes are supported through monetary gifts and buffaloes donated by devotees. Todas sometimes give buffaloes. Most gift buffaloes are garlanded and presented to the priest during a week preceding the festival honoring the goddess. The young priest, who may serve for a year or more, looks

234 778 793 after the sacred buffaloes and processes their milk inside the dairy-temple. He never returns to secular life during his term in office, and must give up the priesthood on Masthi Methai's Monday if he starts dreaming about girls or wishes to get married. The youth milks sacred buffaloes in the morning and evening, takes buffaloes to and from

AM50 Badaga AM50
Kota AM55
Kurumba AM56
Toda AM60
Madras Tribes AM63
Kasuva

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Figure 18. Badaga house (A), Badaga temple, and a Thoraiya house (B)

342 of other houses in the house-row. The front porch area is often converted into an airy room. As a mark of prestige, a few Badagas have erected double-storied houses. The first floors in such buildings may have a floor plan similar to the one found in the traditional house type, but the second floors have mixed rooms arranged in no set pattern. Most of these houses were built during and after World War II, and construction dates are often conspicuously displayed on their fronts. An enlarging minority of Badagas now live in houses which [178] bear no resemblance to the traditional house type. Their houses follow no particular plan and, therefore, represent an odd medley of house forms.

346 Temples. Breeks (1873: Plate LXXV) obtained a photograph showing the old Melur temple, and this is apparently the only record of a circular Badaga temple. Its basal portion had spaced posts standing upright around two or more varying circles with identical center. Sides were not walled and the roof, resembling an old-fashioned beehive, was thatched. Temples forming a Badaga temple type, not described in the literature concerning Badagas, are constructed [342] in house-rows. They sometimes share a common wall with a house or storeroom, but separate temples aligned with houses in a row also [531] exist (Figure 17). Row-temples are constructed with materials now employed in house construction and look rather like houses, but frequent presence of roof superstructures decorated with bulls and deity images automatically sets them apart (Plate X, B). Their design closely parallels the plan used in traditional houses. Porches flank

•346 the entranceway. If a storeroom is built on a porch, it will be right of a left entranceway or left of a right entranceway. As in houses, arrangement of interior features is dependent upon a left or right (353) entranceway. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will be built against the left wall in the front room (Figure 18). This room frequently has a back door, and the open doorway leading from (354) front room to kitchen is arched. The kitchen fireplace, located opposite the door, is used for cooking food to be offered to the deity and then given to worshipers. A sacred room, entered through an arched 346 doorway identical to doorways separating front and kitchen rooms in 778 houses and temples, replaces the hagotu found in houses. Within the sacred room the deity's image is placed upon a shelf to the right. Besides other minor storage platforms, there is usually a storage platform covering the sacred room. Unlike houses, a temple does not have a bathroom.

346 Badagas also build temples which are variants of a small Hindu temple type constructed all over India. Although these vary in size 778 and shape, they contain certain basic features. The deity's image is 532 housed in a small, dark inner sanctuary surrounded by brick walls and often surmounted by an ornate cupola. Images of animals, goddesses, gods, and saints constructed from terra cotta or rod metal covered by mortar, then painted over with many bright colors, often cover a 346 cupola. Attached to the deity's room there may be one or two rooms, but sometimes there is an open-sided shed with compacted earth or cemented floor, pillars of stone or wood, and a roof covered by corru- 778 gated iron sheets or tiles. In front of any Shiva temple there is

B K. 184 912 • 3N6 433

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1969
(1800-1963) AW50 Badaga AW50 •
Kota AW55

TABLE IV

PRESENT DAY BADAGAS AND KOTAS OF THE UPPER NILGIRIS VERSUS THOSE INHABITING THE NILGIRI WYNAAD

Categories omitted are not applicable.

GROUP	OCCUPANCE SITES	ASSOCIATED CENTERS	OCCUPANCE TYPES	MAIN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY
BADAGAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	•Hamlets and villages	•Burial-cremation and worship centers	•Side-gabled houses and half-houses •Side-gabled temples, similar to the houses •Variants of temple with cupola	•Badaga master and Toreiya servant relationship •Agriculture:- five multilayer, more single layer, and many kitchen gardens - orchards: nectarines, peaches, pears, plums - dry field commercial crop production: mainly potatoes - secondary dry field crop production: amaranths, barley, millets, wheat •Acacia and eucalyptus trees grown for bark tannin, eucalyptus oil, and firewood •Livestock rearing: chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, sheep •Limited hunting: small to large game, jungle fowl •Wage earnings: laborers on plantations, gardeners, factory workers, clerks, school teachers, engineers
KOTAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	•Six villages	•Cremation and worship centers	•Side-gabled houses, similar to the Badagas' •Front-gabled temples •Single temple with cupola	•Agriculture:- similar to the Badagas', but on a smaller scale •Grow some acacia and eucalyptus trees •Livestock rearing: similar to the Badagas' •Limited hunting: similar to the Badagas' •Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, potters •Limited wage earning
BADAGAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	•Hamlets and dispersed houses	•Burial-cremation and worship centers	•Gipped-roof houses •Pyramidal-roof temples	•Badaga master and Paniya servant relationship •Agriculture:- multilayer, single layer, and kitchen gardens - limited dry field crop production: millets - wet rice cultivation: subsistence base •Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle •Some are working on plantations
KOTAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	•One village	•Cremation and worship centers	•Front-gabled temple	•Agriculture:- a multilayer garden and small kitchen gardens - wet rice cultivation: subsistence base •Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle and goats •Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, potters

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Figure 23. Occupance forms constructed by Wynaad Badagas and Paniyas

342 an entranceway may be placed on either its left or right side. In addition to the front door, a rear or side door is also included. A (231) chicken coop is sometimes built on the veranda, and a large grain (953) basket, quern, firewood, or other objects may be stored there. In house interiors, through placement of storage baskets or dividing wall construction, a left kitchen side may be visibly differentiated from the right living area and sleeping side. If there is no visible reminder, occupants simple remember that such a division exists. As (352) (513) there is no sleeping platform, household members sleep on mats spread over the floor each night. The kitchen fireplace is located next to (354) the center of the left wall, and there is sometimes a large circular (353) drying basket suspended over it. An upper storage platform extending over the warmer kitchen side is reached by a ladder.

• 346 A Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga temple may outwardly be constructed somewhat like a house (Figure 23). The Devala temple has no inner or outer posts, so squared wooden rafters are attached to wall plates and (778) an emplaced ridgepiece. The hipped roof is tiled. Inside the temple there are two large stone bulls (Nanthis) and an altar next to the center of the rear wall. Temples of a distinctive type serving as worship centers to Badagas and their neighbors have square bases, grilled woodwork in side walls, and pyramidal roofs plated with copper (778) sheets (Plate XII, C). In each temple's interior there is a walled room holding a deity's image, a ceremonial knife, and other ritualistic paraphernalia. Smaller shrines with similar appearance (Plate XII, D) (777) have platforms in their central interiors. The sacred structures with pyramidal roofs are identified with so-called Chinese temples in

•346 m Malabar, and may in reality reflect past cultural influences of the Chinese who once maintained trade contacts with Malabar.

000 Paniyas and Badagas. A glimpse of Nilgiri Wynaad gold mining in the early 1800s appears in a letter written by Nicholson (1833: 90). The Nilambur raja then employed Chettiers on a concession basis to superintend slaves working in mines. The slaves are not identified, but were almost certainly Paniyas. If these slaves did not produce the expected daily allotment, they were flogged and their limbs were crushed in a device which might with repeated use disable a person for life. When planters started to settle in the Wynaad during the 1850s, Paniya serfs were included with the land purchased by the Englishmen (Thurston 1909, 6: 58). Because the English freed the Paniyas, work on plantations supplied an alternative to serfdom from then on. However, in the 1930s Ranga found that many Paniyas remained serfs working mainly for Chettiers, but some Paniya families were attached to Badaga families. Owners who inherited Paniya families were responsible for their support and the marriage of each family member. They had to consent to a Paniya marriage and paid the marriage expenses. In the harvest season especially, Paniyas were commonly rented out. In return for services rendered, Paniyas received daily meals and frequent issues of rice. Shortly before harvest, most owners permitted the members of each Paniya family to select a small plot with ripened grain. The family members then harvested the grain for their own consumption. When a Paniya family built a new home, the materials were supplied by the owner, who also provided food during the course